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COUNCIL



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LETTER DATED 11 MARCH 1963 FROM THE DEPUTY PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF CUBA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the honour to communicate to you the text of a letter dated 4 March 1963 from Dr. Raúl Roa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, addressed to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

"U Thant,  
Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
New York

Sir,

The letter which, on the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Mr. Carlos M. Lechuga, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations sent you on 7 January 1963, stated that the negotiations initiated with your generous assistance had not 'led to an effective agreement capable of guaranteeing permanent peace in the Caribbean and eliminating the existing tensions'. In that letter, our Government said that it considered that 'the basic reason' why those negotiations had not led to acceptable agreements was that 'the Government of the United States, far from having renounced its aggressive and interventionist policy towards the Republic of Cuba, has maintained the position based on force which it took up in flagrant violation of the rules of international law'.

Two months have passed since the diplomatic negotiations in connexion with the so-called Caribbean crisis ended, and the people of the world have again been plunged into an atmosphere of threats and tensions which could lead to a thermonuclear war, for today, just as in October and January, the Government and the war-mongering circles of the United States persist in their policy of aggression, scoffing at international law and consistently and deliberately disregarding the United Nations Charter.

Strictly speaking, it was not necessary to wait that length of time to show that the United States Government was violating the Charter, which was clear from the documents it placed before the Security Council on 7 January. On the following day, 8 January, before you and the members of the Security Council had even had time to read the documents announcing the closing of the negotiations, the Government of the United States announced the establishment of special machinery to co-ordinate aggression against the Cuban people, and at the same time appointed Mr. Sterling J. Cottrell, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and an expert in guerrilla warfare with experience in Viet-Nam and Laos, to carry out this task. According to the official announcement, other Government agencies, including the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency, are represented in his office.

Only a few hours later, it was announced in Washington that the United States delegation to the United Nations had been instructed to do everything possible to block the project to establish an experimental agricultural station in Cuba, which had already been approved by the Special Fund.

These facts - military aggression and economic aggression - would be sufficient in themselves to place historical responsibility for the abortive crisis on the United States Government and to demonstrate its disregard of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Is this how the United States authorities respect one of the principal aims of the United Nations, namely, 'to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours'? Are they complying with Article 2, which provides that 'All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered'? Or with another part of the same Article, which states that 'All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations'? Is the pressure which the United States delegation has brought to bear in order to prevent the Special Fund from carrying out its commitment consistent with the aim of the Organization, as laid down in the Preamble to the Charter, 'to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples'?

We all know that the answer to this list of questions is in the negative. Everyone is aware that the provisions I have mentioned are not the only ones which the United States Government has violated, trampled underfoot and made a mockery of in its dealings with the Republic of Cuba.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba deems it a duty to denounce once again, in the interest of international peace and security, the steps now being taken by the United States Government to prepare for an attack on Cuba, with the obvious risk of plunging the world into a thermonuclear war.

The attention of all Member States must be drawn to the lack of respect for the sovereignty of my country, the continual violations of our airspace and territorial waters, the organisation of a web of espionage and piracy throughout the Caribbean, the infiltration of saboteurs into our territory, and the atmosphere of hysteria which the United States is fostering once again with the obvious intention of fabricating another crisis.

As soon as the negotiations which took place early this year had ended, a new series of acts which are undeniably crimes against international law was begun.

In his statements to the Mutual Broadcasting Company, Mr. Edwin M. Martin, Assistant Secretary of State, lost no time in reviving hatred for Cuba and on 10 January he repeated the threadbare slogan that Cuba is a threat to the hemisphere. Mr. Martin left no room for doubt about the role which Mr. Cottrell, the new appointee, is to play in the strategy of aggression; he is the head of a group to co-ordinate United States Cuban policy and liaison officer with the Cuban exiles.

As was to be expected, the new office did not delay in starting its subversive activities; only a few hours later, it appointed Lt. Colonel John Hung Grimings, of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of State, as its liaison officer in Miami to try to unite the counter-revolutionaries.

On 10 January itself, the counter-revolutionary Jacinto Ortega Torres told the Cuban authorities that he had escaped from the Guantánamo Naval Base because 'intelligence Officer Wilson' had refused to give him asylum unless he enrolled in the 'army of mercenaries' now training in Puerto Rico. It may not be out of place to remind you that this foreign base - an enclave in our national territory

which exists against the wishes of the Government and people of Cuba - is both a den of spies, saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries and a hot-bed of provocation, subversion and aggression.

At the same time, the Department of State warned those ships trading with Cuba that they would run the risk of losing their business in United States ports if they continued to trade with the island. Joseph M. Peap, spokesman for the Department of State, declined to mention the States which were the subject of this extortion.

When he appeared before the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Dean Rush repeated his attacks on Cuba and stated that the United States had never promised not to invade Cuba, and he also recognized that there were offensive weapons in our country. The following day, a committee of mercenaries who had taken part in the invasion of Playa Giron and who had just been freed after the United States Government had agreed to pay compensation for material damage to the Cuban people, went to Washington to discuss with Mr. Cottrell a new plan of aggression, according to reports from United States news agencies.

Secretary Rush's appearance before the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committee was followed by a grotesque and dangerous contest between United States politicians, who vied with each other in stirring up war hysteria and setting the stage for a criminal attack on Cuba.

The farce has not yet been played out. Every day we are greeted with irresponsible, hypocritical and cynical statements full of rancour and provocations. We see a parade of figures swollen with arrogance, insanely seeking to bring about a situation in which United States regular troops or armies of Latin American mercenaries, or both, may be launched against the island in the vain hope of overthrowing our sovereignty and independence and crushing the Cuban Revolution. Everyone realizes that such conduct is again threatening to bring the world to the brink of a colossal war.

The campaign against Cuba, which bristles with contradictions and is completely illogical, is a foolish and unhappy manoeuvre aimed at undermining international peace and security and represents a desperate attempt by the United States Government to impose its domination by force. On the one hand, unscrupulous politicians and

warmongers are bringing pressure to bear on the United States Government to adopt new and bolder measures of aggression against Cuba. On the other hand, the Government is defending itself from criticism but also helping to intensify the dispute and stir up emotions. Official spokesmen admit that Cuba has no offensive weapons but at the same time threaten it with invasion. With unprecedented effrontery, they put out statements and deny them the next moment; they either repeat their irresponsible lies or invent others. Both before and after the statement made by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara early in February to the effect that Cuba was in no position to export arms to Latin America, United States Congressmen and politicians and diplomats of the satellite Latin American Governments made countless statements alleging that Cuba was a menace to the hemisphere.

Whenever a United States Congressman wishes to appear in the headlines he takes up the Cuban question. The United States strategy is no longer aimed merely at re-establishing the régime of economic and political domination overthrown by the Cuban people; now, mindless of the fearsome consequences for all mankind, the United States is spreading slanders and fostering resentment solely for electioneering purposes. Thomas E. Morgan, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, has stated that he is not satisfied because no inspection was carried out in Cuba, and every week demands that the island should be outlawed. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, began an investigation on Cuba in his Committee as if it was a local problem in his own State. Senators D. Aiken and Stuart Symington, Republican and Democrat respectively, joined in complaining that the Cuban problem was a source of grave anxiety. Another investigation about Cuba originated from the preoccupations of Senator John Stennis, Chairman of the Senate Preparedness Sub-Committee.

On 27 January former Ambassador Spruille Braden said in South Bend, Indiana, that the only secure method of eliminating communism in Cuba would be a mass invasion. The same day, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic Majority Whip, proposed a 'manifesto of freedom' for the defeat of the Cuban Revolution. At the time of these statements, the Cuban authorities discovered two spy networks which were operating respectively in Miami and at the Guantánamo Naval Base. Thirty-six persons who were working for the CIA were arrested, among them Pedro Camerón Pérez, who had entered Cuba twice with arms and explosives.

The wave of hysteria was so great that at the end of January it involved five United States newsmen, one from NBC, another from the Miami News, a radio commentator, a reporter from CBS and another from Time. They were 'accused' of ...

sending biased information on the Cuban situation that was favourable to the Castro regime. The Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security rose to their defence.

Mr. Strom Thurmond, a general of the reserve and a Senator, doubled the figures quoted by the Government for the alleged Cuban military personnel, thus stirring up another scandalous controversy which exacerbated public opinion, poisoned the atmosphere and distorted reality.

In Syracuse, N.Y., Senator Barry Goldwater launched a call to war when speaking at a Press banquet. He urged that the necessary action should be taken to extirpate the cancer of Cuban communism and added that if that meant war, so be it! He also suggested that the naval blockade should be re-established and that Cubans should be trained in the United States to carry out sabotage in the island.

As this mad attack was being launched, the dispute continued between Senator Thurmond and the Defense Department because apparently the data supplied by the espionage network used by Senator Thurmond did not coincide with the data supplied by the spies of the Defense Department. On 3 February, Secretary of Defense McNamara stated that none of the arms in Cuba constituted a danger for the United States, although Government and Congressional leaders continued to speak of the Cuban danger and to urge strong measures.

As you may observe, those directly or indirectly responsible for the United States foreign policy are openly violating the United Nations Charter and advocating the destruction of a Member State.

On 5 February President Kennedy prohibited the carrying of any cargo financed by the United States Government in any ship which had been in a Cuban port since 1 January. This was a blow to free trade, an act of coercion against other countries, and one more example of aggression.

The same day, while Secretary of Defense McNamara was revealing that since 1 July 1962 over 400 espionage flights had been carried out over Cuba by United States aircraft, John K. McCone, Head of the CIA, which was sending arms and saboteurs to Cuba, said that he was convinced that all the airplanes and offensive missiles that were known to be in Cuba had been withdrawn shortly afterwards.

The campaign against Cuba reached such bestial fury that on 6 February the United States Government itself, in an action which its own propaganda described as extraordinary, displayed on the television screen so-called 'secret information'

to buttress its assertion that there were no more offensive weapons in Cuba. However, that did not prevent certain Senators from repeating their lies as soon as Secretary McNamara had completed his report. Congressman Keating, while retracting some of his slanders, lost no time in inventing others.

Senator Stennis of Mississippi, completely ignoring the inhuman racial discrimination in his own State, declared that he was convinced that the military threat in Cuba had not diminished.

Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois expressed the same view.

Incredible as it may seem, that day two United States politicians were possessed by good sense. Representative S. Monaghan said in a radio broadcast that everybody had become an expert on Cuba and, curiously enough, those who had never been there and especially those furthest away from Cuba, were the greatest experts. 'The solution of this delicate situation in a thermo-nuclear age', he added, 'is not helped by irresponsible statements'. For his part, Senator Allen J. Ellender pointed out that it was a great mistake to focus attention on contradictory reports about Cuba. He said that, after all, the people of the United States must trust somebody and that the constant jumble of rumours and denials was making national defence a matter of politics.

Soon afterwards, President Kennedy announced that he did not regard Cuba as a military threat to the United States and that 'the question involved in the Cuban situation' was 'issues of war and peace'; he added that in dealing with them, 'we should keep our heads'. However, he also said that Cuba was a 'matter of concern'.

But people continued to lose their heads. Commenting on President Kennedy's order prohibiting the shipment of goods on ships trading with Cuba, Paul Rogers, Democratic Representative from Florida, demanded that all ports in the Western Hemisphere should be closed to countries whose ships were engaged in such trade. As a member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Sub-Committee, Rogers spoke on the floor of the House and described President Kennedy's act of economic aggression as 'timid overtures'.

Senator Stennis, Chairman of the Senate Preparedness Sub-Committee, returned to the charge and said that the 'United States should act, even though all offensive weapons may have been removed from Cuba'. And on 7 February, the

imperialist wire services reported that the United States Army was planning to train another task force for anti-guerrilla warfare with its base in the Panama Canal Zone, from which it would be in a position to help the Latin American Governments to cope with any revolution stirred up from Cuba, apparently forgetting that a few days earlier Defense Secretary McNamara had said that the Cubans had no ships to transport tanks or any other major military equipment across the Caribbean Sea to Latin America.

On 10 January, Senator Humphrey enthusiastically resumed his campaign for a 'liberated Cuba' and said in all seriousness that the United States would not rest until that hotbed of communist infiltration had been wiped out. He went on to say, in connexion with the economic under-development of Latin America, that the United States had now become interested in that area because Fidel Castro had forced it to take an interest out of fear.

Republican Senator Hugh Scott decided to add more fuel to the fire, and Nelson Rockefeller, the multimillionnaire Governor of New York, also indicated his concern with the Cuban situation because, as he said, it affected private capital investment in Latin America. Under-Secretary of State George Ball, apparently alarmed by the irresponsible turn which the argument had taken, said: 'It is a little extraordinary that we keep hectoring one another', but refused to answer a reporter's question on whether the 'storm kicked up' by continuing contradictory reports on Cuba was motivated by politics.

The argument swelled into a torrent of words. Representative Ed. Foreman, Republican, announced towards mid-February that two ships had steamed out of the Cuban port of Mariel loaded with arms destined for British Guiana, compelling the United Kingdom Embassy in Washington to issue a denial. Senator John Sherman Cooper suggested another blockade of the island and Representative E. Ross Adair, member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said that there was uncertainty about what had been said of Cuba's lack of offensive capability. The Jackson Daily News, a Mississippi newspaper, reported that United States Naval Intelligence was contradicting President Kennedy, claiming that there were still nuclear warheads in Cuba. On 11 February, Mike Mansfield, the Democratic Majority Leader of the Senate, tried to bring the mad and dangerous war of words under some control by saying that what was really needed at that point was more restraint in the



irresponsible public statements which were dangerously playing with the fires of mass emotion.

Nine more Americans were arrested on 11 February by Cuban Security officials on the northern coast of Camaguey Province, there being good grounds for suspecting them of spying for the CIA and, if you should come back to the Cuban capital, you would see the gray silhouette of the 'Oxford', a United States warship which is a symbol of Washington's policy of provocation, off the Havana coast almost every day.

On 15 February, in repetition of similar shameful episodes, a pirate launch operated by Cuban counter-revolutionaries and United States agents of the CIA machine-gunned two small unarmed Cuban fishing boats of the 'Sigma' type, belonging to the Cárdenas fishing co-operative. As a result of the attack, two Cuban workers, the brothers Armando and Ramón López Ruiz, were wounded. The attackers seized the craft near Roque Bay, leaving behind its crews and the wounded men. Some days later, the United States Government announced that two aircraft of the Cuban Revolutionary Air Force had bombed a small United States shrimp boat with a crew of two, Benjamin Washington and Captain P. Jackson. The State Department hastily sent a note of protest. The White House said, with its insolence, that President Kennedy had given orders to the United States Armed Forces to take all necessary steps to prevent a recurrence of such attacks. In a typically Hitlerian outburst, Senator Richard Russell, member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, declared that United States planes would shoot down any aircraft which seemed to be attacking United States fishing boats in international waters, even when the nationality of the aircraft could not be immediately determined. He added that they would worry afterwards about whether a mistake had been made.

The Cuban Minister of the Armed Forces vigorously repudiated the unfounded charge. He explained that two Cuban airplanes on an exploratory flight in search of the two fishing craft seized by the CIA, had sighted the small boat, which was very similar to the 'Sigma' type of craft. They flew at low altitude in order to identify it, and immediately withdrew from the area when they found that it was not one of the captured Cuban fishing boats.

However, the United States Congressmen became 'indignant'. A few hours later, the Cuban Revolutionary Navy found the two fishing boats and captured eight CIA agents when they were trying to land a cargo of weapons. Three of the eight arrested stated that they were responsible for the seizure of the two fishing boats. They admitted that they had started out from Florida and that they had taken both boats to Elbow Cay, a United Kingdom possession, and then returned to the United States. The two United States crew members of the shrimp boat said at Key West that the assertion that they had been attacked was untrue. Defense Secretary McNamara pointed out that the boat had not been flying the flag of any nation and admitted that it could have been Cuban.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba rejected the United States Government's note of protest in its entirety, exposing this false and tendentious version of the facts contained therein and recalling, at the same time, earlier piratical attacks organized by the CIA against our shipping.

The attacks in question took place on the following dates: 12 May 1962, 24 August 1962, 13 September 1962, 3 October 1962, 4 December 1962, 13 October 1962, 9 February 1963 and 13 February 1963.

The CIA agents captured in the latest incident revealed some details of the United States conspiracy against Cuba. They said that their specific assignment, after seizing the two fishing boats, was to organize a counter-revolutionary band in the north of the Province of Las Villas. They also stated that other pirate bands organized by the CIA had hide-outs in Puerto Rico, Venezuela and Costa Rica, and a very active base at Cayo Estocairan in Florida: they added that the groups operating from Santurce, Puerto Rico, had two speed-boats armed with recoilless guns of United States manufacture.

As if these facts were not sufficient proof of the United States Government's aggressive policy and its contemptuous violation of international law, the newspaper The Miami Herald, on 21 February, published an interview with the Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, who embarked upon an outrageous tirade which demonstrated once again the official United States responsibility for the Playa Girón invasion - a responsibility denied, as you will recall, in the United Nations General Assembly by the Permanent Representative of that country.

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The Attorney General declared that his Government had never intended or promised to provide the Cuban mercenaries with air support and that the United States military authorities had underestimated the combat capacity of the Cuban Air Force's T-33 training aircraft; he added that President Eisenhower's Government had bequeathed to his brother's administration only a general and undetailed invasion plan.

Cuban counter-revolutionaries immediately gave the lie to this version and adduced detailed evidence to show that the United States authorities had promised them air cover during and after the landing. Four Cuban mercenary airmen who took part in the abortive military operation said that a number of United States pilots had died in the operation while serving as 'volunteers' and that it had been decided, at a meeting with a leader of the United States Air Force, held at Puerto Cabeza, Nicaragua, to attack Cuban objectives. These 'volunteers' manned two B-26 bombers and formed part of a corps of 150 United States military instructors who trained the mercenary brigade. The Republicans seized the opportunity to reopen investigations into the case and to press their attacks on Cuba.

Former President Eisenhower, for his part, explained that the plan had not been formulated while he was President, and that only a guerrilla-type operation in the eastern part of the island had been contemplated, until sufficient forces could be mustered to do something more. President Kennedy, in his Press conference of 25 January, confirmed his brother's statement and declared that there had never been any plan for United States air support.

The favourite instrument of the United States Government in its anti-Cuban policies, the Organization of American States, has been set in motion in the past two months. On 11 January, the puppet regime of Guatemala joined those of Venezuela and the Dominican Republic in submitting contrived and warmongering reports against Cuba to the so-called Special Commission on security of this regional organization which, since the Meeting of Consultation held at Punta del Este, has been overtly transformed into an aggressive military bloc in the service of United States imperialism. On the same day, the tyrant of Paraguay, Alfredo Stroessner, falsely accused the Revolutionary Government of Cuba of hatching a plot to overthrow him. Already some days before, the Venezuelan representative to the Council of OAS, acting on orders received from the White House, had criticized this same Special Commission on security for what he called its 'inaction' in dealing with the Cuban question, and had asked that the preparations for aggression should be speeded up.

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On 22 January, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the military dictatorship of Argentina appeared before OAS and called for an attack on Cuba. He had conferred with President Kennedy on the preceding day. On 6 February, it was the turn of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica who, after conferring with the United States authorities, also went to OAS to attack Cuba.

One week later, the Special Commission presented a confidential report, which was later made public, proposing the convening of a conference of the security and intelligence services and organizations of OAS members to co-ordinate the attack on Cuba and the attempts to crush all the liberation movements of the Latin American peoples. The recent transfer to the Panama Canal Zone for anti-guerrilla training of 500 Playa Girón mercenaries, in the service of the CIA, is directly linked to these plans for collective aggression, the prerequisites for which include cutting off diplomatic and trade relations, and sea, telegraph, telephone and postal communications, with Cuba through the devious application of the Treaty of Rio.

On 14 February, the United States Government announced that it would supply the military dictatorship of Argentina with light artillery, mechanized equipment, amphibious vehicles and modern infantry weapons for setting up a brigade. On 16 February, United States paratroops were sent to the Panama Canal Zone to form part of the nucleus of a special army 'to combat subversion in Latin America', and on 19 February, the so-called Special Commission on security of OAS recommended the breaking-off of diplomatic relations with Cuba. Even before that, the United States Government had encouraged the formation of a similar type of organization in Central America.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine dictatorship, after talks with the President of the United States and with Secretary Rusk and after playing his anti-Cuba record worn out in the OAS, authorized a credit for \$6,700,000 from the funds of the so-called Alliance for Progress, and later held talks lasting one hour and twenty minutes in New York with the presidents and directors of the First National and Chase Manhattan Banks; he told the Press that he had also discussed with the United States authorities the training of an Argentine brigade to operate in the Caribbean area. On the same day, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs applied the term 'insignificant' to the apocryphal documents

which the military dictatorship of Peru said had been found in the wreckage of the Brazilian aircraft that had crashed near Lima some weeks before and which, according to Peruvian propaganda, implicated the Government of Cuba in activities in Latin America. These 'documents' were, of course, sent to OAS by the military dictatorship of Peru.

The manoeuvring of the United States Government in the Organization of American States was revealed in part by the Secretary of State himself, when he said that the co-operation of other Latin American Governments had been requested in order to keep a check on what was happening in the hemisphere as regards the Cuban problem and the transfer of funds from Cuba to other countries of the hemisphere. On returning from a meeting of United States diplomats serving in Central America, which was held at San Salvador, Under-Secretary Edwin H. Martin announced in Washington that he intended to discuss the Cuban situation with various senior officials.

On 5 February, the heir to the lifetime presidency of Nicaragua, Luis Somoza, stated that he would 'mobilize the free peoples of Latin America in order to invade Cuba and overthrow Fidel Castro', because 'if the job was left to the CIA it would never be done'.

The visit of the President of Venezuela to the United States provided further opportunities for co-ordinating the attack on Cuba. Rómulo Betancourt turned to the OAS in order to add his voice, with repugnant arrogance, to the subservient chorus of advocates of the United States policy of aggression. Previously, on 25 January, the Commander-in-Chief of the Venezuelan Navy, Sosa Ríos, had already adopted a similar stand when he stated in New York that 'the Cuban affair should be dealt with as a combined operation with the United States Navy', and announced that Venezuela would send a contingent of naval officers and men to be trained at United States bases on the Atlantic seaboard.

During his visit to Mexico and the Dominican Republic, the President of Venezuela repeated his attacks on Cuba and, with sycophantic alacrity, displayed his readiness to back up the imperialist plans of aggression against Cuba.

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The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica, Daniel Oduber, gave a clear picture of the role assigned to CAS in the aggression against Cuba when he stated in Washington on 6 February that the decision of that aggressive military bloc, adopted in October 1962, to approve the quarantine of Cuba and the illegal flights over our territory gives the United States carte blanche and imposes on all the Latin American countries the obligation to do whatever is required in Cuba.

Mr. Secretary-General, the United Nations cannot, without betraying its principles and purposes, also give carte blanche to the interventionist policy of the United States Government. We are confident that the moral strength of the Organization will support the action of the peace-loving Governments and peoples and the decision of the people and Government of Cuba in defending their sovereignty and independence and avoiding war, without accepting any dishonourable surrender. We consider that the United Nations is unavoidably committed to defending its Charter, its principles, its purposes and its objectives.

On 23 February, the Cuban coastal schooner 'Joven Amalia' was brutally attacked in territorial waters by the United States destroyer 'Harold G. Ellison' (DD-864), and the awning on the starboard side and two parts of the rigging were damaged seriously imperilling the lives of the crew. Following this deliberate ramming, the destroyer remained alongside the vessel for a quarter of an hour, during which time its Commander neither volunteered any explanation of what had happened nor offered help of any kind. The Revolutionary Government delivered a note of protest against this new act of provocation.

On 27 February at Washington, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala demanded, in his usual shameless manner, the support and co-operation of all the members of CAS for the aggressive plans of the United States Government against Cuba, invoking the Monroe Doctrine and setting Belize as the price for this abject connivance.

Not to be outdone, the Presidents of Costa Rica and of Honduras, Francisco Orlich and Ramón Villeda Morales, proposed to the Dominican Republic that the United States armed forces should intervene in Cuba under the flag of the Organization of American States. Armistead Selden, Chairman of the House Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs, and Senator Humphrey announced

on the same day that they were expecting that, at his projected meeting in Costa Rica with his Central American puppets, President Kennedy would reveal his new plans for aggression against Cuba. And indeed he did not fail to do so. On 2 March, his lap-dog, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica, publicly gave away the secret here and there. It is obvious that these people were suckled on imperialism and have become allies through their impotence.

On 27 February again, one of the United States soldiers posted on the boundary of the Guantanamo naval base fired seven shots at the area occupied by the Cuban sentries, killing a cow, owned by Andrés Téllez Socorro, which was grazing there. On the following day, two parties of Yankee Marines, who were in a state of obvious drunkenness, opened heavy fire on the boundary zone along the frontier, imperilling the lives of the Cuban sentries. Both of these acts of provocation were denounced by the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The false testimony given on 1 March before Congress by the Head of the CIA, who again accused Cuba of being a dangerous centre of communist subversion for the continent, is a barefaced distortion of the facts. At such levels, Mr. Secretary-General, who can be unaware that the stronghold of intervention, subversion, conspiracy and aggression against the sovereign rights of the Latin American peoples is in the United States, and that the CIA, precisely, is its main detachment? Who can be unaware at this time that the Government of the United States is the strongest bastion of the forces of reaction in the world, and that it is, finally, the sworn enemy of the Cuban revolution, which is doing its utmost to rid our country of the servitude, the misery, the ill-health, the illiteracy and the colonial oppression imposed for their own selfish ends by the United States monopolies on a group of peoples who are showing increasingly unmistakable signs of their dislike of this ominous state of affairs? Who in the wide world is not aware that it is the conditions brought about by those monopolies which give birth, through the workings of history's inexorable laws, to the movements of liberation in Latin America?

The imperialist Government of the United States, as can be seen, has not foresworn its aggressive and criminal policy but is pursuing it with irresponsible obstinacy. Far from helping to diminish the tensions that it has deliberately created, it is adopting an inflexible attitude of provocation, conspiracy and subversion which will inevitably lead to a war situation. It is shamelessly violating the Charter of the United Nations. It boasts of violating the sovereignty

of another Member State. It adopts positions of strength. It puts pressure on other Governments and makes them the accomplices of its power strategy, conceived and executed in disregard of international law and of its own domestic legislation.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to state to you today, as it did in its letter of 7 January 1963, 'that there is no better procedure for solving crises such as this one than peaceful negotiations and discussion between the Governments concerned regarding the sovereign rights of each nation and respect for the rules of international law which govern the coexistence of nations'. It also wishes to state, however, as it already pointed out in the document jointly signed by it and the National Directorate of Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, that 'we could never surrender to the imperialists' and that 'in the face of positions of strength we shall remain steadfast'.

May this denunciation serve as a cry of alarm in view of the incontrovertible facts I have outlined and as a warning of the aggression that is being prepared against Cuba, with unusual disregard for international public opinion. May it also serve as a categorical restatement of the fact that the socialist path of national development, chosen by the Cuban people, represents an inalienable right which that people and the Revolutionary Government are prepared to defend to the last drop of blood.

I should be obliged if you would have copies of this letter distributed to the representatives of the States Members of the United Nations.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(signed) Raúl RIA  
Minister for Foreign Affairs

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this letter to be circulated as an official Security Council document.

Please accept, etc.

(signed) Dr. Raúl PREBIA  
Ambassador,  
Acting head of the Mission